

The disappointment, and dissatisfaction, occasioned by the *Non-appearance* of the POLITICAL PAMPHLET *last week*, have induced the Publisher (who is still without arrivals from the Author) to offer as a substitute on the present occasion, *one of Mr. COBBETT'S former productions*, which, though written more than a year ago, and not then intended to be printed in this Country, is not the less interesting to the English Reader.— While perusing it the Reader is requested to observe, that it was written in England a few days previous to the meeting of Parliament in February 1816, and was addressed to the People of America.

ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

ITS PRETENDED ELECTIONS, AND ARTIFICIAL DEBATES AND DIVISIONS.

This appears to me to be a fit occasion to give some account of this celebrated assembly, which, though many of its corruptions and of its unjust deeds are notorious enough, has its character yet to be truly and fully described. And, this is the more necessary, as I perceive, that there are some

good and able men in America, who yet seem to regard it as being, in some degree, a protection to the rights of the people that it has the impudence to affect to represent. Mr. CAREY, for instance, in his very able work, "*The Olive Branch*," in complaining of the anti-national feeling of some of the public men in America, observes by way of contrast, that, in the English Parliament, though there is a Court Party, there is always "a Country Party," and that these are as decidedly against the *enemy*, when England has one, as the Court Party itself. Though this body has been any thing but the representative of the people, it has changed its character for the worse very much indeed since Mr. Carey was closely acquainted with it. The long war, the immense expenditure of public money; the endless contracts; the thousands upon thousands of officers in the army, navy, excise, customs, stamps; the great increase of the funded debt; the extinction of the old country gentlemen's families, and the creation of a new moneyed gentry; the general prostitution of the Bar by the means of the numerous places created by the taxes and the war, and filled

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by lawyers, it being notorious that, out of every five young men called to the *bar*, four assume the character and garb for the purpose of obtaining employment under the government; and, not to eke out the list of causes, the great increase in the power of the Bank and the East India Company. All these, and many other co-operating causes, have changed, not the mode of the elections, but the *characters* of the Members of the Lower House, and in no small degree that of the Peers themselves, who, instead of a Country Gentry for companions and connexions, have now the mushroom gentry created by the war and its boundless loans and expenditure.

This change of character is of great importance. In the gentlemen of England, who had held their estates from their ancestors; who resided always at the same place; who had a reputation to support, whose happiness consisted, in a great degree, in maintaining that reputation; who were the sons of fathers well known before them, and who, in their turn, had sons whose happiness must be affected by their fathers' conduct. In men of this description, so well known in their several counties and neighbourhoods; men whose interests were so closely interwoven with those of the people at large; men who had not become rich by the receipt of taxes. In this sort of

natural magistracy of the country, the people had, in spite of the partial distribution of the elective rights, a tolerable security for their liberties and properties. The *character* of the members supplied in a great degree the place of a fair mode of election.

But, when Bute, and North, and Pitt, with their tools, the Jenkinsons, and Percevals, and Addingtons, had, by their loads of taxes, swept all this race of gentry away as completely as a hurricane sweeps away the sugar-canes in Jamaica; and had, by their contracts, and commissions, and loans, and grants, and bribes, created a new and grasping race of moneyed men, and officers, and lawyers, to supply their place, the *character* of the Members became wholly changed; and, the parliament having no longer any common interest with the people, became (with a few individual exceptions) a mere set of scramblers for pelf and power, falling, each party in its turn, upon the devoted people, as warring dens of wolves from the Pyrenees fall alternatively upon the bleating flocks in the valleys below.

As to the *Elections*, except in very few cases, they are a mere mockery. A mockery so complete, that it is wonderful that the farce has been so long carried on. Except in the City of Westminster and about ten other places, there is not the smallest shadow

of *reality* in the thing. When we see that Gatton, Sarum, and several other places, having each from one to seven voters, sending each two members to Parliament, while Westminster and Liverpool send only two each, and while Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Paisley, Glasgow, and numerous other large towns send none at all, it would be superfluous to say, that there is no real representation. But, the truth is, that the *seats* in Parliament are the *property*, in most cases, of particular persons. That they are bought and sold as other property is. That they are sometimes sold in the *fee simple*; sometimes let on *lease* for the duration of a certain Parliament; sometimes they are let for one, two, three, or more Sessions, according to the wants of the tenant and the owner. These contracts are made, and the deeds executed, in just the same form, and with just as little reserve, as are the contracts for the sale and the letting of land or houses.

This property is not in a great number of hands. It is chiefly owned by the Peers, though there is, amongst the laws which help to make up the prodigious mass of frauds of the System, a law strictly forbidding Peers to interfere at all in Elections, while they not only interfere, but actually sell and rent the seats in the House of Commons; and these

facts are not only well known, but stand *recorded* in a petition to the House of Commons, presented in May, 1793, by the then Mr., now Lord, GREY. The *distribution* of this property has, since 1793, undergone some changes, by the means of conveyance from hand to hand. At this time, according to a very circumstantial account, in the History of Boroughs, just now coming from the press, written by Mr. T. H. B. OLDFIELD, and published by BALDWIN, the seats are owned as follows:—

	Number of Seats.
By 216* Peers in England, Ireland, and Scotland,	300
By 156 Commoners,	171
By the Treasury,	16
	—
	487
County and Independent Seats,	171
	—
Total Seats in the House of Commons, 658	—

It should be observed, that, though not bought and sold by regular parchment contract, there are some of the *county* full as much *property* as the borough seats. The Treasury, for instance, always puts whom it pleases in for Hampshire, where the majority of the voters, owing to the Dock-yards and Barracks, are actually in its *pay*. So, in other

* It is said to have been since ascertained, that only 144 Peers, and 123 Commoners, own the 300 and 171 Seats here stated.

counties, where three or four Peers agree to take the seats alternately, they cause whom they please to be chosen, the number of freeholders being small, compared with the means of overawing or bribing them. In fact, there is no such thing as a *free election*, even in the counties. But, at the very best, the people have only 171 Members out of 658; and, of course, they might as well have none at all. Indeed, it would be much better if they had none; it would be much better if the Members were, at once, appointed by the House of Peers, or the Ministers; because, in that case, there would be none of that *deception* which has so long kept this rotten thing in existence, and enabled it to do so much injury to the world.

The seats are made use of by the owners in various ways. The late Duke of Norfolk, who owned *eleven*, and whom our death-recorders hold up as a staunch *friend of freedom*, used to let all his for longer or shorter spaces of time. The owners sometimes fill them with *relations*, in order that those relations may buy good places with their votes. Sometimes the owners fill them with persons who are to vote just as the owners shall order them upon every question; and thus they have all their votes constantly at hand to back any demand that they have to make for emoluments, or honours, for

themselves or families. Sometimes the owner lets the seat *conditionally*; as, for instance, on condition that the member always vote as the owner shall direct, except in certain cases; or, that he shall always vote with the Ministers; or, with the Opposition. At other times the owner lets the seat *clear of all restrictions*, in which case the rent is *much higher*, because the Member may, of course, vote just as it suits his own advantage; and such a man is called an **INDEPENDENT** Member!

As to the amount of the rent, it varies, of course, according to the covenants of the lease. An *independent* seat was worth, during the war, five thousand pounds for a whole parliament, or 1,500 pounds for a single year; because there were then so many contracts, commands, commissions, loans, and other valuable things to be obtained by judicious voting. The rent has now, with all other rents and prices, fallen, I am told; and if taxes cannot be raised to support a large expenditure, it would not be at all wonderful to see a seat let for four or five hundred pounds a year.

The notoriety of these things precludes the necessity of particular proofs; but, to leave nothing to cavil at, such proof is at hand as can leave no room for doubt in any mind, which is not deeply prejudiced against the

truth. In the year 1809, a Committee sitting on an inquiry into the misconduct of the Duke of York, into his sales of commissions and employments, through his mistress, the famous Mrs. Clarke, discovered, by accident, proof of a transaction of a different nature; and, as there were some Members in the Committee, who were in opposition to the Ministers, the transaction was brought before the House, and appeared to have been as follows. One Redding had a seat to dispose of; and wishing to obtain a place in India in exchange for the seat, he offered it to CASTLEREAGH, who was the President of the Board of Control for India Affairs. Castlereagh agreed, the terms were all settled, and Lord Clancarty, a relative of Castlereagh, was to take the seat, for which Redding was to have the compensation agreed on; but, before the actual execution took place, a dispute arose between the subaltern agents, and the truck was not completed. It was the Marquis of Sligo ("the Most Noble the Marquis of Sligo,") who owned the seat. Redding was the agent to let it for the remainder of the Parliament. A *Writership* in India, worth 3,000 pounds, was to be the object of truck. The *Writership* was to be sold to another party, and Redding was to have five per centum for *Agency*. All the proofs of these facts were pro-

duced to the House of Commons; a motion was made to *censure* Castlereagh; but it was rejected by a very large majority, on the ground, that the act had *not been completed!*

That "*Honourable*" Body was not, however, long to remain sheltered under this flimsy pretext; for, in a few weeks afterwards, Mr. MADDOCKS brought a direct charge of a *completed act* home to Henry Wellesley, Castlereagh, and Perceval. When the "*Honourable*" men decided in favour of Castlereagh, they thought it necessary, however, to do something with a view of blinding the world; and, therefore, they *resolved*, and entered their Resolution on their Journals, "That, while it was the "*bounden duty* of this *Honourable* House to maintain, at all times, "*a jealous guard upon its PURITY*, the attempt, in the instance "*of Redding and Lord Castlereagh not having been carried into effect*, the House did not "*think it then necessary to proceed to any criminatory Resolutions respecting the same.*"

Very well, said Mr. Maddocks, when he opened his charge on the 11th of May, 1809—Very well; but, I now produce, or am ready to produce, at the Bar of the House, proof of a *complete act* of this sort. The facts were, that a Mr. QUINTIN DICK had hired, through the agency of Henry Wellesley; I beg his pardon, the *Ho-*

nourable Henry Wellesley, a seat at the rent of 3,000 pounds, on condition that he should always vote with the Minister. The *Right Honourable* Perceval, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, sanctioned the bargain, and took the money for the Treasury. And, when Mr. Dick insisted upon voting against the Ministers, in the case of the Duke of York, *The Honourable* Castlereagh called upon him, in fulfilment of his contract, to resign his seat; which Mr. Dick did accordingly. These were the facts, as they stand recorded in Mr. Maddocks's charge, and of these facts, said he, I pledge myself to produce complete proof by witnesses at the Bar, if the House will permit me to call them.

Now, then, what did this *Honourable* Body do? What did this Body, who called itself the guardians of the people's rights determine on? What did this House, which had solemnly resolved, only a few days before, that it was its "*bounden duty* to maintain a *jealous guard on its PURITY*," now resolve to do, in order to protect its character? Why, the *Honourable* and *Right Honourable* crew resolved, by a majority of almost *four to one*, that they would *not hear* the witnesses of Mr. Maddocks, and that they would enter into *no inquiry at all on the subject*.

There is no use for marks of

admiration here. Expressions of indignation and abhorrence would be out of place. For, the bare statement of the facts, must fill every man of common sense and common honesty, though destitute of every feeling in favour of political liberty, with an eager desire to see so corrupt and profligate an assembly crushed to atoms. Knowing these facts and not to detest this assembly is positive vice. And yet, I have seen, in some *American* publications, we, who have laboured to procure a *reform* of this House, called *demagogues* and *Jacobins*.

But, insolent, outrageously insolent and profligate as the *decision* was upon this memorable occasion, it fell far short of the insolence and profligacy of the *debate*, which contained the grounds on which the decision was made. It was not pretended that the charge was *false*, but it was insisted, that the traffic in seats was so *notorious*, that it would be *unjust* to punish the persons accused, and very *unwise* to do it, because, if begun, there was no knowing where such punishment might end.

Perceval, who, until now, had passed with the world, by means of his profound hypocrisy, for a very moral and virtuous man, and who was present when the charge was made, got up and observed, that this was the beginning of a series of proceedings calculated to

overthrow *our excellent constitution*. He, therefore, strongly recommended the House *not to hear any more of it*; to set their face against these attempts at once; and thus to blast the hopes of the "*faction*." Having said this, he walked out of the House; when Castlereagh rose, and begged leave to be understood as repeating the words of his *Right Honourable friend*, and then he walked out. Wellesley was not present.

Then began the debate upon Mr. MADDOCKS's motion for bringing witnesses to the bar to prove his charge. Lord MILTON, son of Earl FITZWILLIAM, who was, and is, the owner of *seven seats*, said, that if the charge were to be proved, "*he should not think one jot the worse of either of the honourable gentlemen accused, or that they were in any degree more criminal than former ministers.*" Mr. TIERNEY said it would be unfair to make *victims* of two gentlemen, whose "*conduct had nothing singular in it.*" Mr. PONSONBY said, that "he would appeal to all who heard him, whether many seats were not sold, and that being notorious, he never could persuade himself to take advantage of such a circumstance in a political adversary for the purpose of running him down. Such things were *by hundreds*. The practice of *trafficking in seats was as notorious as the sun at noon-day*. And, therefore,

"he could not reconcile it to his notions of *liberality and justice* to select these two individuals as *victims*." Mr. WINDHAM insisted that this traffic formed "*part of the constitution*," and that it was "*necessary to the defence of the government*." And CANNING, who was then Secretary of State, called upon the House *to make a stand against these encroachments of the FACTIOUS*, as Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Folkestone, Sir William Lemon, Sir William Honeywood, Sir John Dashwood, Sir Thomas Miller, Sir Mordaunt Milner, Sir John Astley, were called by this insolent upstart, this son of a play-actress, brought up behind the scenes of the play-house, put to school out of charity by Sheridan, brought into office by a school-companion, and made *Right Honourable* by Pitt, in pursuance of his system to surround the throne with unprincipled and supple upstarts to the exclusion of the ancient gentry of the kingdom, in whose love of their country, and in whose general integrity he found an obstacle to his views.

At last, there were upon a division, 85 voices for an enquiry, and 510 against it. The thing was thus completely quashed. *Both parties joined*; for if the OUTS had not joined with the INS, the latter were ready to prove, that the former had done the same, and, being in place, they had all the means of proof

in their hands. The OUTS would gladly have joined with Mr. MADDOCKS and thus have turned out their rivals for power and pelf; but, they *dared* not. What a farce, then, is this talk about *Whig* and *Tory*; about a *Court* and a *Country Party*; about a *Ministerial Party* and an *Opposition*? Does not all the world see, that the House of Commons is composed of a set of corrupt men, battling either to gain place, or to keep place; and that, the House of Lords owning a great part of the seats in the other house, both Houses are, in fact, one Body, the members of which occasionally divide into parties in contending for power and profit, but, all of whom have one common interest, which seldom fails to make them unite *against the people*? Is it not clear that the whole affair of *debating* is a SHAM; that it is intended to amuse a credulous people, and to make them deaf to the voice of the real friends of the Country? Just round the Houses; in Westminster, in London, and in some few large towns, where men meet and discuss political matters, the people look upon these Houses in their true light; but in all such places, care is taken to have close at hand large bodies of regular soldiers, both horse and foot, as I shall hereafter show; and, as to the rest of the Country, the people, by the means of a hired press, and a * * * * *

* * * * * every where present and active, are kept in a state of complete delusion.

Thus standing recorded, in its own proceedings, as being notoriously composed of men guilty of bribery and perjury, even according to the *laws* which they themselves have made, thus standing the confessed, the self-proclaimed abettors of, and participators in, the foulest of all corruptions, that which poisons law and justice in their very source, one would think, that it was impossible to view these men in a more hateful light; one would think it impossible to add a tinge to the blackness of their character. Yet, they really are not sufficiently painted, till we add to the other hideous features of this character, that of *hypocrisy*, one particular instance of which I cannot refrain from stating rather in detail.

It has always been their common practice to affect to *take fire* at any attempt upon their *purity*; and, numerous are the victims which they are constantly making of the poor, bribed rogues, who play them foul in their borough elections. Their committees, who try contested elections; that is to say, who decide the disputes between seat owners who happen to disagree, never fail to seem to be *shocked* at the depravity of the poor villains, detected in the taking of bribes; and, the *Honourable House*, participating in the

virtuous feeling, seldom fails to visit with its wrath persons thus accused and found guilty. The honour, the independence, the virtue, the humanity of *Parliament* are continually on their lips. These things are notorious; but, in the case of **HAMLIN**, a Tinman at Plymouth, the farce of *purity* was carried to a height which makes a particular notice of it worthy of a place here.

Hamlin, knowing that places under the government were daily sold, and seeing a place at Plymouth, which he thought would be more profitable to him than the hammering of *Tin*, wrote, at once, to the minister, *Addington*, and offered to give him a sum of money if he would appoint him to the vacant place. This was a fine opportunity to make a *display* of purity. *Addington*, after consulting with his worthy associates as to the way to go to work to turn this thing to the *best account*; after having affected to think the crime of so high a nature as to make it proper to bring it before Parliament, "the act being nothing short of an attempt to corrupt one of the most exalted members of that *Honourable* House, the purity of which was so essential to the maintenance of our happy constitution, and to the liberties of the people." After a sham proposition in this way, the insulted and indignant virtue of the minister was so far

mollified as to induce him to turn poor Hamlin over to his * * *, the Attorney-General, who, at that time, was *Perceval*; and upon the trial, which resulted in a very severe punishment, producing ruin and *death* soon afterwards, this *Perceval* said: "My Lords, I think it is due to the age, and the country in which we live, to state, what, indeed, is *universally believed*, that there never was a period, in the history of this country, or of *any other*, in which the characters of persons in an exalted station of public life, were so free from all suspicion of this species of offence as at the present moment."

What a state of baseness must a man have been arrived at before he could bring himself to utter these words; and that, too, in addressing himself to other men, who knew, as well as he did, that the traffic in places and in seats, was as common as the traffic in scrip and exchequer bills! Notwithstanding the notoriety of this traffic; notwithstanding the manifest ignorance of Hamlin, this *Perceval* called for a heavy sentence on this poor man, "*purely*," as he solemnly declared, "for the sake of **PUBLIC JUSTICE**." Hamlin was sentenced to imprisonment and fine: he was wholly ruined in his business; and he died soon after his release, and left a family in the last state of misery. And this was that same

Perceval, who passed for the *moral* and the *pious*, and who, when the proofs of seat-selling, of place-selling, and of every species of corruption and fraud were ready to be produced against himself, advised the Honourable House not to hear the proofs, "lest it should thereby encourage the *faction* to overthrow our happy Constitution in Church and State." To be sure, every moral principle forbids us to approve of murder; the just and humane mind recoils with horror from the pistol of the assassin; every good man disapproved of and condemned the act of Bellingham; but, was it possible for any good man to lament the *fall* of Perceval? Was it possible for Justice or Humanity to follow him with *sorrow* to the grave?

In what strains the *Honourable* House sang forth the virtues of their departed *Right Honourable* leader is notorious: with what unanimity, and amidst what cheers, they voted immense grants of money to his family, as a reward for his great public services, among which were the sending out of Captain Henry under his administration, and the having provoked the war with America; with what applause the House loaded his character in public as well as private life: with all these the people of America, as well as those in England, are acquainted; and, surely, when these are re-

collected, together with the acts of his life, we have, in this single instance, if we had no other, ample means for deciding on the character of that assembly.

It is hardly necessary to trace in their effects the deeds of such an assembly; for, having the whole of the property of the country at its mercy; being under no check or controul, it is manifest, that the effect of its power must be universal corruption and oppression, going forth like pestilence and famine to scourge the land. It is notorious, that, in exchange for *seats* and *votes*, all sorts of employments, and all degrees of profit are given. Peerages, the Governorships of Colonies, Commissaryships, Contracts, Loans (as proved in the case of Benjafield), Commissions in the Army and Navy, Commands on profitable stations, Grants or Leases of Crown Lands, Judgeships, Chancellorships, Ambassadorships, Bishopricks, Deaneries, and other Dignities and Livings in the Church; it is notorious, that, in *all* cases, what is called *parliamentary interest* decides the choice of persons to be employed, except in cases where the employment is such as to be fully worth the wages received, and where little or no *honour* is attached to it. In some cases a post, or a living, or a commission, is given for a *single vote*; or for two votes at different times. Then again

for a year's voting or for a month's voting. A man of ancient family, who is generally represented in the country, will get a good living for his son by one vote, whereas a mere upstart must vote for a year or two to obtain the same thing; but, both their sons go very coolly, and solemnly declare, "*before Almighty God, the searcher of hearts,*" that they "take upon them the cure of souls, being thereunto moved and called, as they verily believe, by the *Holy Ghost*;" when, they well know, all the while, that they are really called to the office, by the base corruption of their fathers! These seats and votes are applicable to all purposes. Sometimes they are used to provide for a mistress, a bastard, a pimp, or a valet, or chambermaid who possesses a valuable secret. Sometimes innocent men are persecuted and utterly ruined at the instigation of those who have seats or votes to give as the price; and, at others, guilty villains are saved by the same all-powerful means.

Further detail is useless; for it must be evident to every man of sense, that, in such a state of things, there can be nothing worthy of the sacred names of *liberty* and *law*; and, that, amongst all the other barriers against despotism, the press must of necessity become nothing, or be converted into an instrument of that

very despotism. This is, indeed, one of the principal of its instruments. Without a press at its command such a system never could have stood to this day. If its proceedings had not been constantly sent forth under all the appearances and the ancient and settled forms of law and justice, and freedom; if its exactions and its cruelties had not been constantly glossed over; if the people had not been amused and cajoled, this mass of fraud and violence never could have endured so long.

Nay, even *with* this corrupt press, and with all this appearance of regular legal proceeding, the thing could not have remained to this time without the actual support of the *bayonet*. This is so well known to the usurpers of our rights and our property, that they have erected barracks, as strong as tolerable forts, all around them. One at Knightsbridge, one at Marylebone, one at St. James's Park, which, with that at the Tower, completely surrounds the scene of their iniquities. Then, in case of emergency, there are Barracks at Hounslow Heath; (10 miles off;) a little further to the left, at Guildford: (26 miles;) round further to the left, at Croydon; (10 miles;) then, coming up the Thames, at Woolwich; (8 miles;) crossing the Thames, at Warley; (12 miles;) coming still round, at Chelmsford; (20

miles, perhaps.) Thus surrounded by a double line of forts, from which it could bring, at three hours notice, more than fifty thousand swords and muskets to their support, what need they fear? They have one Barrack close to the House; or, at least, not more than four hundred yards from it, whence the soldiers, some of whom are always in readiness, can be brought to their avenues in five minutes. When the people of Westminster assembled against the Corn Bill last year, the House was surrounded with guards in an hour. The third day saw fifty thousand regular soldiers in London, and fifty thousand more moving out of distant Barracks to make their approaches, and to come, in case of need. And, it is notorious, that this law was actually passed while the regular soldiers surrounded the House, as regular soldiers are now employed in Cardiganshire, to enforce the collection of taxes.

Such, Americans, is the situation of that "land of your forefathers," the government of which some good and weak men amongst you, still hold up as worthy of your imitation; or, at least, of your respect. But, let me put it to these good men; let me ask them to lay their hands to their hearts and to say, whether they do really approve of the land of their forefathers, that object of their natural and laudable attach-

ment, being treated as this land now is; whether they approve of the corruptions, frauds, and extortions that I have described; whether it is this mass of wickedness, to which they are attached, or whether they are attached to the insulted, plundered, and bleeding people, who groan under the weight of that wickedness? "To the latter," they will surely say. And does it then become them to side with this government against those whom it oppresses with more than ordinary weight? Does it become them to speak spitefully of us, who are venturing our all in endeavouring to produce a reform of these monstrous abuses, and a restoration of our country to its former state of freedom, virtue, and happiness? Let me ask the Quakers of Pennsylvania, amongst whom I have spent so many happy days, the recollection of whose virtuous lives is so pleasant to me, and whose kindness and hospitality are so deeply engraven on my heart; let me ask *them*, whether they approve of the corruption, the bribery, the fraud, the cruelty, that I have described? And whether they do not think, that all these ought to be held up as a warning to mankind?

As to the *duration* of this complicated mass of oppressive power, it may, probably, not be so long as most men appear to think it will. Relying as it does, princi-

pally in the last resort, on the bayonet, that bayonet may, under circumstances that may arise, be turned against itself. The mere hired soldier looks not far, indeed, beyond his *pay*. But, the time seems approaching when even that pay may fail him. The Seat-Owners, whom we generally call Boroughmongers, and who went to war in 1793, lest a successful example in France should drive them from their unjust monopoly of power and emolument, did not, however, draw the means at once from their estates and from those of others. They found it more easy to borrow and to mortgage, until they have contracted a debt, the interest of which they never will long be able to pay out of the taxes. To lessen this interest would expose them to loud execrations from the mouths of hundreds of thousands; and yet, it appears, that they must, at no very distant day, do this; or else disband the force necessary to the maintenance of their usurpation of our rights. This, in a few words, is the difficulty that now stares them in the face. They have enslaved us; they have restored the Bourbons; they have stifled freedom wherever she was rearing her head. They had, as they thought, secured the enjoyment of their corrupt traffic to the end of time. But just as they were beginning to exult; just as they were only beginning to congratulate one

another on their glorious success over justice and humanity, on having forced back the hordes of persecuting priests upon the people of France and Italy; on having new-whetted the fangs of despotism, and rekindled the savage fires of bigotry in Spain: just at this moment of the dawn of their fancied security for ages yet to come, their ears have been saluted with the cries of domestic distress, occasioned by that exhaustion, which their wars against freedom at home and abroad have produced. They are now *about to meet*. We shall see in what their "*deliberations*" will end. It is impossible to foretell precisely what they will do; what new tricks they will play off; what delusions they will attempt to practice; what acts of robbery or extortions they may commit: but of this I am certain, that, for *two years*, they cannot proceed unchecked by some serious obstacle. Whether they will commit further acts of fiscal cruelty on the people at large, or whether they will now turn round upon the Fundholders, I do not know. They *may* issue new bales of paper-money, at the risk of standing marked out as notorious bankrupts all over the world. They may with the aid of their bayonets, seize and sell our goods, houses, and lands, while they pass a law to protect their own from such seizure. But, of one thing I am *certain*, and

that is, that they must do something out of the *usual course*, the thing being now past all *disguise*, and *unmuffled* violence being quite inadequate to the exigence of their affairs.

WM. COBBETT.

The *Times* Newspaper.—At the close of an article in the *Times*, relative to Sir ROBERT WILSON and his publication on the Power of Russia, the writer has made an attack on Mr. COBBETT, on which the Publisher of the POLITICAL PAMPHLET has to offer a few observations. The paragraph in the *Times* is as follows:—

“ We make these remarks, the
“ force of which is obvious at
“ first sight, with the greatest
“ personal respect for the Author
“ of the pamphlet on the Power
“ of Russia. We regret that any
“ abuse should have been lavished
“ upon him in an evening paper,
“ from which his rank and ser-
“ vices in the cause of Europe
“ should have exempted him;
“ but we would advise him se-
“ riously to consider into what
“ irretrievable infamy a much
“ more able writer than he is (we
“ mean COBBETT) has fallen, by
“ advocating with equal fury both
“ sides of all the leading political
“ questions of the day; so that,
“ at last, he is become wholly use-
“ less to all parties: and if we
“ would wish to disgrace any
“ political opinion, we do not

“ know that we could speak worse
“ of it, than by saying that it was
“ now maintained by COBBETT.
“ Men who affect to guide the
“ public judgment should not be
“ liable to such changes.”

Unfortunately for the writer in the *Times*, Sir Robert Wilson cannot take his advice. Though possessed of distinguished talent and accomplishments, Sir Robert has not the faculty of thinking “ seriously ” of what he does not know, or even suspect, to exist. On publishing his “ Power of Russia,” which has proved so overwhelming to the writer in the *Times*, he sent a copy of his Work to Mr. Cobbett’s Publisher, having first written in it with his own hand, “ To Wm. Cobbett, Esq. with the Author’s compliments.” This evinced a degree of respect, which Sir Robert would have been incapable of entertaining for Mr. Cobbett, if he had known, as assumed by the *Times*, that the latter had fallen into “ irretrievable infamy.” Sir Robert therefore being ignorant of such Infamy (for it cannot be supposed that he could learn it at once from the mere assertion of the *Times*) cannot take it into his “ serious ” consideration. And the *Times* must go further for an argument to defeat “ The Power of Russia,” even than the far-fetched one of the alledged Infamy of Mr. Cobbett.

The *Times*, however, does not

only allege the *infamy* but supports the charge by a discovery of the cause: "*by advocating with equal fury both sides of all the leading political questions of the day.*" Meaning, not that Mr. Cobbett advocates both sides of a question every "*day,*" or even every week; or that he advocates them alternately in his Weekly Pamphlet, week after week, for either of those meanings would be false; but, that Mr. Cobbett did once advocate *one* side of those questions, of which for *many* years past he has been advocating the *other*. This is nearer the truth, and that it is the meaning of the writer in the *Times*, appears from what immediately follows:—"So that **AT LAST** he is become *wholly useless* to all **PARTIES;**" evidently intending that he has so **LONG** advocated the cause of the **PEOPLE**, that the "**PARTIES**" (for the *Times* distinguishes between *Borough-mongers, Whigs*, and the like, though Mr. Cobbett does not) despair of his ever advocating their cause again. That this is the meaning of the *Times* is further evident from the consideration, that political Writers are always understood to be *useful* to the cause they espouse, in proportion as they are *read*. And, therefore, Mr. Cobbett, the circulation of whose writings, since he has advocated that cause which he continues to advocate, is not only

greater than that of any other political writer, but down to the moment of his quitting England, was greater than that of any ten of those writers, cannot be said to be "*useless*" to his cause, though worse than useless to the cause of the **PARTY**. Indeed the "**PARTIES,**" as the *Times* calls it, considered those writings as not only useless to them, but so injurious as even to endanger their political existence. Witness the late arbitrary measures, the necessity of which was maintained by the Boroughmongers, on the score, principally, of those very writings.

But as the once being in the *wrong*, followed by a long and zealous perseverance in the *right*, cannot positively be said to sink the actor into irretrievable infamy, it would appear, after all, that the *Times*-writer does not assert, but merely *supposes* the infamy, by way of an argument, having no other. As an answer to Sir Robert Wilson on the Power of Russia, the *supposition* of Mr. Cobbett's infamy is as good as the positive assertion.

Mr. Cobbett has, indeed, for so many years been the uniform and distinguished Advocate of the **RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE**, that if he were "*now* to maintain any political opinion" of "**the PARTIES,**" he would indeed fall into "*irretrievable infamy.*" Hence the *Times*, after *supposing*

such a change on the part of Mr. Cobbett, pertinently adds, "If we would wish to disgrace any (such) political opinion, we do not know that we could speak worse of it, than by saying that it was NOW maintained by COBBETT." Indeed this Sentence, in any other sense, would be so highly complimentary to Mr. Cobbett, that one cannot suspect the *Times* of any other meaning: for if Mr. Cobbett maintains every cause in turn, and if that which he last undertakes is always the worst, it follows that he never leaves a cause until he has made it better; which is more than the writer in the *Times* will ever be able to say for *himself*, or for any of his associate hirelings.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S PLAN OF PETITIONING BY TWENTIES. The Publisher is astonished to find himself accused in the "*Black Dwarf*" of refusing to insert Major Cartwright's Plan of petitioning by Twenties for Parliamentary Reform. The Major never offered him any thing for publication on the subject, except

the mere form of the Petition, which the Publisher promised to insert in his *next Paper but one*, and he now *punctually* fulfils that promise.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of ———.

Defective Representation being the Nation's Bane,

We pray that all male Subjects (Infants, Insanes, and Criminals excepted) may equally share in annually electing Representatives to serve in Parliament.

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ERROR. In No. 24, Page 736, line 24, for *materially*, read *naturally*.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

Printed and Published by WM. JACKSON, No. 11, Newcastle Street, Strand; and So Wholesale and Retail, No. 192, Strand, London.